1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

cide, adultery, and assault. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council: the man is beaten, his hut burnt, his honey-barrels destroyed; the woman also is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the *koret* council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could call upon two or three men to force the offender, by moral and physical persuasion, to mend his ways. Of offences in the second category, trespass has already been mentioned (p. 58). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the *koret* council, which can order payment of compensation. A man accused of stealing food may say, " If I am a thief, may this grass eat me," and place a blade of grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-cattle. If a man incapacitates another by assaulting him, he must feed him till he recovers. Homicide of a Dorobo of another clan, though not involving primary sanctions, was a serious offence because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The usual number was nine head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man living alone the number might be reduced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could, from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from the Nandi, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dorobo horde consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly by the feeling that they are all Dorobo, but much more by the clan ties which cut across the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dorobo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Crafts

Housing

(*a*) Forest type: the *koconget*, in use as late as 1927, was a framework of sticks bent over to form an oblong, dome-shaped structure, covered on the outside with banana leaves and leaves of trees; height, 6 ft.; length, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. (*b*) New types: the *koriet* has a circular wall about 5 ft. high plastered with mud, and an almost flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the *kot* is a hut of ordinary Nandi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of three or four *koconget* huts, were situated in clearings just big enough to hold the huts, and were approached by concealed paths which branched in a bewildering manner that made it impossible to find them without a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the cultivated land.

Dress and Ornaments

Clothing is made largely from the skins of wild animals, and the forms are mainly copied from those of the Nandi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, iron wire armlets and leglets, necklaces, and married women's ear-rings (*taok*). The ear-lobes are pierced and elongated (sometimes getting torn in the forest), and a small hole is bored in the top of the ear. Some but not all remove the two lower middle incisors. Hair is allowed to grow to a length of about 2 ins., when it is sometimes covered with a bladder cap, and sometimes dressed with red earth and fat. Occasionally a man has his hair done in pigtails like the Nandi.

Tools and Weapons

Axes and knives are obtained from Nandi smiths, the Dorobo making the wooden handles. Needles are made from old nails and bits of wire which the Dorobo

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

682 623 692 few relatives it would be very much less. The murderer had to provide as many of the number decided upon as he could, either from his own herd if he had one, or by getting them from the Nandi in exchange for furs, which meant, of course, that the cattle would be either oxen or worn-out old cows, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to his relatives and clansmen to make up the number, which needed a clan council to apportion the balance among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the amount had been [614] agreed upon by both clan and *koret* councils, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by his victim's relatives, so he had to lie low till the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone as far as killing him, for then they themselves would merely have had to return the cattle as compensation for their own act. In dividing cattle between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

683 754 **Killing a witch.** Though in 1939 I could hear of no Dorobo who were reputed to be witches (*ponik*), such people certainly existed in the past. Apart from killing people by spells, their principal activities seem to have been centred on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a diviner to be guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (*mepase*).

609 682 **Killing an enemy.** This means killing any person who is not a Dorobo and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the Dorobo. The Dorobo have no sort of war organization, and their enemies [701] were generally shot at from the cover of under-growth. Though not a crime, [721] killing an enemy none the less makes the killer ritually unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has shed human blood. This action is thus [783] brought into the same category as homicide of a Dorobo, and though there is naturally no compensation, purification is required. The face of a man [802] who has killed an enemy is painted (*kemase toket*) with stripes of white earth (*enoriot*) on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the nose. The paint is allowed to remain till it flakes off, and the man does not have to stay in his hut, but goes about as usual; though if he had killed a Nandi he would take care to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. In actual fact, Nandi were seldom killed, but one who strayed into the forest might get shot by accident: the body would be taken to a lonely place for the hyaenas to eat, and at any sign of Nandi activity the Dorobo would vanish into the depth of the forest where the Nandi would have little chance of finding them even if they had the inclination to search.

685 **Theft.** Stealing honey is the worst kind of theft, and is almost comparable with intra-tribal cattle-theft among the Nandi. A man who steals honey from someone else's barrels is considered very low indeed, and if found

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

out might be shot by the owner, who, if he killed the thief, would have to pay compensation for homicide. 685

If a man steals a honey-barrel from a man's recognized area in the forest, the case can be brought before the *koret* council, and the usual compensation is the payment of a goat, which the thief has to get from the Nandi if he has none of his own, though if the thief's circumstances were good, he might have to pay more. The Dorobo say that stealing honey-barrels is apt to be dangerous, because if a barrel is full of bees, the thief might be injured by their stings if they got his scent and did not recognize it.

I was told that theft of an animal caught in someone else's trap never occurred, partly because of the deep-seated public hatred of such an act, and partly because of the belief that after eating meat stolen from a trap the thief's belly would swell to a great size and he would die.

A person accused of stealing food may, to attest his innocence, take a blade of grass between his teeth and say: *Ingo a corin, kuama susuonno*, "If I am a thief, may this blade of grass eat me". [695]

A man who is found stealing ordinary property is beaten by the owner if he can catch him, but if in doing so the thief is killed, the owner must pay the compensation for homicide. In cases of serious theft, like stealing a man's bow and arrows, the case could be referred to the *koret* council, and the thief might have to pay adequate compensation. A man accused of theft might protest that he was innocent by throwing his knife at a tree and saying: *Ingo a corin, kuama rotuanno*, "If I am a thief, may this knife eat me". [692] [623] [695]

Trespass. To the Dorobo, trespass means hunting on somebody else's land. Normally this is no more than either following an animal across the boundary into another man's land, or else in the heat of the chase picking up the trail of another animal on someone else's land. If the hunter gives the owner of the land some of the meat, this accidental trespass is not considered as an offence. But if a man were deliberately to set out to hunt or trap on another man's land without permission or promise of meat, then the owner might, if he thought fit, kill him, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide. Trespasss can occur only in the horde's own forest area. In the old days, when people roamed over the plains below, they could hunt where they pleased, and all they had to do was to keep out of the way of the Masae or Nandi herdsmen.

Adultery. A man who lies with another man's wife is said to *cor*, that is, steal her. He thereby commits an offence against her husband, who may kill him if he catches him in the act, and then, of course, must pay compensation; the wife may get a beating. A woman is not divorced for one act of adultery. 684

Assault. If a man injures another and incapacitates him, he must feed him till he recovers; and should the man eventually die as a result of the injury, the offender will have to pay compensation for homicide. 683

M D 682 648 M [564] [326] /262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asá is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682] Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished, as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D [847] [839] [374] A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 685 D 683 D 689

D 681 Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787 For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1, [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]